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PTQ8386

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ORIGIN AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-01	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	EB-01
	OIGO-01	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-16	JUSE-00	L-01
	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OIG-04	PA-01	PRS-01
	P-01	SP-00	SR-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	USIE-00
	PRM-10	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00	/053R		

DRAFTED BY: AF/C:LACECSARINI:LAC

APPROVED BY: AF/FO:PBUSHNELL

AF/C:RFENDRICK

PRM/AAA:MMCKELVEY (INFO)

DRL/MLA:JROSENBLATT

DRL/AAA:RPOWERS

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P R 080245Z DEC 94
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY KIGALI PRIORITY
INFO RWANDA COLLECTIVE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 326453

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PHUM, PREF, RW

SUBJECT: MEETINGS WITH HUMAN RIGHTS NGOS ON RWANDA

REF: KIGALI 2403

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. AF DAS BUSHNELL MET WITH HUMAN RIGHTS GROUP
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REPRESENTATIVES NOVEMBER 29 AND 30 ON RWANDA. AFRICA
WATCH'S ALISON DES FORGES URGED THE USG TO A) PRESSURE THE
GOR AND THE UN TO EFFECT A PEACEFUL CLOSURE OF DISPLACED
CAMPS B) GET BILATERAL AID TO THE GOR ON AN URGENT BASIS
AND C) PROVIDE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO THE INTERNATIONAL
TRIBUNAL AND PUBLICIZE ITS ACTIVITIES. RWANDAN HUMAN
RIGHTS ACTIVITIST MONIQUE MUJAWAMARIYA EXPRESSED
DISAPPOINTMENT IN THE EFFECTIVENESS OF UNAMIR IN ENSURING
SECURITY FOR RETURNEES AND CONCERN OVER CONTINUED EVIDENCE
OF RPA REPRISALS. BOTH UNDERScoreD THE GROWING CLIMATE OF
FEAR AND INSECURITY INSIDE RWANDA. BUSHNELL EXPLORED

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE

REVIEW

AUTHORITY: HARRY R. MELONE

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THEIR VIEWS ON POLITICAL RECONCILIATION, REVIEWED OPTIONS
FOR ADDRESSING SECURITY IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS AND OUTLINED
PLANS FOR USG BILATERAL ASSISTANCE. END SUMMARY.

HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH DES FORGES

3. ON NOVEMBER 29, HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH (HRW) ALISON DES
FORGES PROVIDED AF DAS BUSHNELL WITH A READOUT ON HER
RECENT (MID-NOVEMBER) VISIT TO RWANDA. HRW WASHINGTON
REPRESENTATIVE JANET FLEISCHMAN ACCOMPANIED DES FORGES;
AF/C CECSARINI (NOTETAKER) ALSO ATTENDED THE MEETING. DES
FORGES UNDERScoreD THE INCREASE IN THE LEVEL OF TENSION IN
RWANDA SINCE HER PREVIOUS VISIT IN EARLY SEPTEMBER; THE
IMMEDIATE CRITICAL ISSUE WAS THE CLOSURE OF THE INTERNALLY
DISPLACED CAMPS. THE GOR HAS A LEGITIMATE SECURITY
CONCERN WITH MILITIA CONTROL OF AND ACTIVITY IN THOSE
CAMPS, SHE SAID. HOWEVER, FORCIBLE CLOSURES IN KIBUYE HAD
RESULTED IN VIOLENT CLASHES AND LOSS OF LIFE. CONTINUED

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AGGRESSIVE MOVES ON THESE POPULATIONS WOULD HAVE A
NEGATIVE IMPACT NOT ONLY ON THE DPS THEMSELVES, BUT ALSO
ON THE GOR'S INTERNATIONAL IMAGE AND ON THOSE LOOKING
HOMEWARD FROM THE CAMPS IN ZAIRE AND TANZANIA.

4. IN DISCUSSIONS WITH UNHCHR AYALA-LASSO, DES FORGES HAD
URGED THE UN TO FOCUS THE HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORING PRESENCE
AT THE CAMPS AND AT RETURNEES' VILLAGES. SHE ENCOURAGED
BUSHNELL TO UNDERScore THIS POINT WITH THE GOR AND THE UN,
AND TO URGE CLOSE COOPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO IN MOVING
THE DISPLACED POPULATION HOME.

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5. DES FORGES ALSO LISTED A NUMBER OF OTHER CONCERNS.
THE LACK OF INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO THE GOR WAS
ERODING THE MODERATES' INFLUENCE WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT,
SHE FEARED. THE LAND TENURE ISSUE WAS ALSO WORRISOME;
ACCORDING TO INTERIOR MINISTER SENDASHONGA, ONLY 30
PERCENT OF ADJUDICATED PROPERTY CLAIMS HAD BEEN

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IMPLEMENTED. THE PRISON SYSTEM WAS "CONSTIPATED", WITH MORE AND MORE PRISONERS BEING SHOVED INTO MISERABLE CONDITIONS AND NO ONE COMING OUT (ALTHOUGH SHE NOTED A SURPRISING LACK OF EVIDENCE OF TORTURE OR ABUSE). IN ADDITION TO THE (ESTIMATED) 10,000 "OFFICIAL" DETAINEES IN KIGALI AND ELSEWHERE, THERE WAS PROBABLY AN EQUAL NUMBER

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BEING HELD "UNOFFICIALLY" IN SHIPPING CONTAINERS, PRIVATE HOUSES' MILITARY INSTALLATIONS' ETC. DES FORGES ESTIMATED THAT UP TO 20 PERCENT OF THOSE DETAINED WERE PROBABLY INNOCENT; MANY OF THE DENUNCIATIONS WERE UNDOUBTEDLY BASED ON PROPERTY DISPUTES. TO COMPOUND THE PROBLEM. POLICING WAS STILL BEING DONE BY THE MILITARY; THE 100 UN-TRAINED GENDARMES HAD STILL NOT BEEN DEPLOYED. DES FORGES URGED THE USG TO SPEED UP BILATERAL AID, PARTICULARLY TECHNICAL AID TO BOTH THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM AND INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL.

6. BUSHNELL REVIEWED USG EFFORTS TO ADDRESS THESE ISSUES. SHE SAID THE UN WAS BEING ENCOURAGED TO "SHARPEN ITS MANDATE" REGARDING RESPONSIBILITIES TOWARD RETURNEES. THE US WAS PUSHING AHEAD ON DEPLOYMENT OF BOTH UNAMIR TROOPS AND MONITORS. ON THE ISSUE OF CAMP SECURITY, THE US HAD NOT COME TO A FINAL POSITION; NEVERTHELESS, BUSHNELL UNDERSCORED THE DIFFICULTY OF GETTING TROOP CONTRIBUTORS FOR ANY MILITARY OPTION. THE USG WAS DETAILING PLANS FOR BILATERAL ASSISTANCE AND WORKING WITH OTHERS WITHIN AN OPERATIONAL SUPPORT GROUP TO COORDINATE THIS ASSISTANCE AND UNDERTAKE OTHER EFFORTS TO ENHANCE THE UN'S EFFECTIVENESS. SHE THEN SHARED ELEMENTS OF THE PROPOSED USG BILATERAL ASSISTANCE PACKAGE, INCLUDING MONEY FOR REHABILITATION OF JUSTICE AND A NUMBER OF OTHER KEY MINISTRIES.

7. BUSHNELL THEN TURNED TO THE ISSUE OF POLITICAL RECONCILIATION. THE U.S. WAS NOT PREPARED TO ASK THE GOR TO NEGOTIATE WITH HARDLINE (MRND AND CDR) LEADERS BELIEVED RESPONSIBLE FOR THE GENOCIDE, SHE SAID. AT THE SAME TIME,

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THE GOR MUST RECOGNIZE THAT IT CANNOT HAVE A MINORITY GOVERNMENT AND WOULD HAVE TO TALK WITH SOME MODERATE HUTUS EVENTUALLY. THIS WOULD BE DIFFICULT AS LONG AS AN

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UNREPENTANT EX-GOVERNMENT CONTINUED MAKING THREATS FROM THE CAMPS AND HUTU MODERATES INSIDE RWANDA WERE AFRAID OF REPRISALS OR DETENTION.

8. DES FORGES AGREED THAT CONTINUING DISAPPEARANCES AND DETENTIONS WERE INCREASING FEARS AMONG THE HUTU POPULATION, ESPECIALLY AMONG THE MORE EDUCATED. EVEN WITH AN IMPROVED SECURITY SITUATION IN RWANDA, AN ALTERNATIVE LEADERSHIP WOULD NOT DEVELOP AS LONG AS THE CURRENT LEADERSHIP WAS CONVINCED IT COULD INTIMIDATE AND NEGOTIATE ITS WAY BACK INTO POWER. SHE SUGGESTED PUBLICIZING THE INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL'S ACTIVITIES TO KEEP THE HEAT ON FORMER GOVERNMENT LEADERS AND MAKE IT CLEAR NO ONE WOULD DEAL WITH PERPETRATORS OF THE GENOCIDE. THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL HAD ALREADY HAD A CHILLING

EFFECT IN THAT REGARD - SOME OF THE LEADERSHIP HAD MOVED OUT OF GOMA FOR LESS VISIBLE REFUGE IN CAMEROON AND CAR.

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HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST MUJAWAMARIYA

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9. THE NEXT DAY, BUSHNELL MET WITH RWANDAN HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST MONIQUE MUJAWAMARIYA, WHO WAS ACCOMPANIED BY INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS LAW GROUP REPRESENTATIVE FRANCOISE ROTH. MUJAWAMARIYA ALSO NOTED THE INCREASED TENSION INSIDE RWANDA. KILLINGS AND DISAPPEARANCES OF RETURNEES CONTINUED, ALTHOUGH PERHAPS CARRIED OUT MORE SURREPTITIOUSLY THAN BEFORE. SHE CITED PARTICULARLY THE AREA AROUND BUTARE, WHERE MANY HUTUS HAD DIED PROTECTING TUTSIS, BUT WHERE NOW THERE WAS EVIDENCE THAT RETURNING EXILES WERE HARASSING AND KILLING HUTUS. SHE ASKED THAT WE PRESS THE GOR [REDACTED] TO ARTICULATE ITS SPECIFIC PLANS FOR DEALING WITH THE PROBLEM. [REDACTED]

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PRACTICE.

10. MUJAWAMARIRA LAMENTED WHAT SHE FELT WAS UNAMIR'S TOTAL LACK OF EFFECTIVENESS IN PROVIDING SECURITY FOR RETURNEES. NOT JUST INCOMPLETE DEPLOYMENT BUT AN ABYSMAL LACK OF COMMUNICATION AND IMPRECISE UNDERSTANDING OF THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES TOWARD RETURNEES WERE CONTRIBUTING TO THIS PROBLEM. AS AN EXAMPLE, SHE CITED TWO SPECIFIC CASES WHERE UNAMIR OBSERVERS APPEARED TOTALLY UNAWARE OF OR UNCONCERNED BY THE DETENTION OF A PROMINENT LOCAL LEADER.

11. TURNING TO THE DETAINEE ISSUE, MUJAWAMARIYA CALLED THE CURRENT PRISON SITUATION "SCANDALOUS". CHILDREN DETAINED TOGETHER WITH ADULTS WERE BEING ABUSED; MATERIAL
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CONDITIONS WERE HORRIBLE.

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12. IN RESPONSE TO DAS BUSHNELL'S QUESTION, M. ECHOED DES FORGES' PESSIMISM ABOUT PROSPECTS FOR MODERATE POLITICAL INTERLOCUTORS. MODERATES INSIDE RWANDA WERE AFRAID OF REPRISALS BY BOTH SIDES, SHE SAID. MODERATES IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS WERE BECOMING RADICALIZED. THE EX-FAR AND THE FORMER GOVERNMENT HAD MONEY

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INFLUENCE

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AND CONTROL OF INFORMATION
(EXTREMIST NEWSPAPERS AND PAMPHLETS CIRCULATED WIDELY IN THE CAMPS). SEPARATION OF THE LEADERS FROM REMAINING REFUGEES WAS THE ONLY SOLUTION.

13. BUSHNELL NOTED AGAIN THE DIFFICULTY IN GETTING INTERNATIONAL TROOPS TO INTERVENE. MUJAWAMARIYA SUGGESTED AS A LAST RESORT STOPPING HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE DELIVERIES, BUT ADMITTED REFUGEES MIGHT STILL BE KEPT FROM LEAVING. ENLISTING THE DSP (MOBUTU'S PRESIDENTIAL GUARD)

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TO INTERVENE MIGHT BE MOST EFFECTIVE, SHE SAID, SINCE THEY
WOULD OBEY MOBUTU'S COMMANDS (COMMENT. SHE COULD GIVE NO
EVIDENCE THAT MOBUTU WOULD COOPERATE IN LOOKING OUT FOR
REFUGEES' INTERESTS AND NOT THEIR OWN, HOWEVER. END
COMMENT).

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14. COMMENT. BOTH MEETINGS HIGHLIGHTED THE DILEMMA OF
INITIATING A NEGOTIATING PROCESS AT THIS STAGE. HER
COMMENTS ABOUT REPRISALS NOTWITHSTANDING, MUJAWAMARIYA
BELIEVES MANY REFUGEES WOULD OPT FOR HOME GIVEN ACCURATE
INFORMATION AND THE CHANCE TO LEAVE QUIETLY. HOWEVER,
MODERATES INSIDE AND OUT ARE NOT LIKELY TO EMERGE FROM THE
SHADOWS TO TALK PUBLICLY WHILE FACING THE TRIPLE THREAT OF
STRONG RIVALS WITHOUT, REPRISALS WITHIN, AND TRIAL BY
TRIBUNAL, INTERNATIONAL OR LOCAL, AT ANY POINT. END
COMMENT.

15. KIGALI AND BUJUMBURA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
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